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Pittsburg Taxi Men Solid on 12th Week

PITTSBURG—Taxi drivers after 11 weeks of a bitter strike against Parmalee Transportation Co. continue to present a united front and a determination to win.

When automobiles appeared on the streets carrying passengers and donating fares to strikers' relief, Parmalee obtained an injunction againt their operation. At the hearing an attempt was made to bar all strikers from the courtroom.

At mass meetings speakers from the pile drivers and wharf workers and the building trades unions urged the workers to continue their fight. At each meeting so far a group of rowdies from the offices of the taxi company have attempted to disorganize the program by shouting "Back to work." They are dubbed the "back to work boys" by the strikers.

Chief demands of the strikers are recognition of the union and 40% commission. Not one desertion from the ranks has occurred.

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BUILDING WORKERS ASK MOONEY-BILLING'S RELEASE

SACRAMENTO, Cal.—The California Bulidnig Trades Council in convention at Building Trades Council in convention at Sacramento has demanded immediate pardons for Mooney and Billings. The unemployment situation was the chief subject of discussion. The five day week in the building trades is about to go into effect in Sacramento.

IN THE NEXT ISSUE

"The Five Year Plan and World Unemployment" by L. D. Trotsky, an article of the most important character to all workingmen and to the Communists, will appear in the next issue of The **Militant.** Workers will want to buy a copy of the paper containing this article. Look for the Militant at your newsstand or write to The **Militant,** 25 Third Ave., New York, N. Y. Better yet, SUBSCRIBE! $2.00 per year.

Sharp Decline in Illinois Construction

CHICAGO—Contracts let for building construction the week ending March 21 were less than one third the value in the same week a year ago, according to the F. W. Dodge orporation. The value was $3,271,000 for Illinois and a year ago $10,000,000 in round numbers. In Chicago contracts since the first of the year total $23,000,000. The same period last year they totaled $84,000,000. For Illinois outside of Chicago the figures were $19,000,000 this year and $50,000,000 last year.

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CHICAGO—A jury found nine particiuants in the Chicago unemployed demonstration of Feb. 21 guilty of disorderly conduct and fines of $1 to $60 were imposed They will be worked out in jail at 50 cents a day.

Polishing The Guns For The Next War

Since January 11, the five chief empires have had representatives in London, where they are polishing their guns in preparation for the next world slaughter. Incidentally, these five nations have about four-fifths of all the fighting ships. When they go to war, it means that the world is at war, at least so far as navies are concerned.

This London Conference met to consider navies. At the outset it was to be a conference for the reduction of navies. It was therefore referred to as a "disarmament" conference.

For several weeks, however, it has been getting clearer that instead of reducing navies, the conference would probably lead to more navy building. Italy, Japan and the United States are all clamoring for "parity", for "70% ratios" or for something else that spells navy building when it is put into practice.

Nearly 10 years ago—in 1921—a conference was held in Washington at which these same five leading empires were represented. Like the London conference of 1930, the Washington conference of 1921 was to be a "disarmament" conference. Within two years after it closed, the British were busy on the greatest naval base in the world—Singapore—and were launching their program for five new cruisers of the latest type.

Only Soviet Union for Peace

There was a conference at Geneva, in 1927. Britain, Japan and the United States sent delegates. France and Italy declined. The word "disarmament" was used when the conference was called. Before it was well under way, it was described as an arms conference. Before it adjourned, the British and American delegates were in one another's hair.

Year after year capitalist empires call disarmament meetings. They have good cause to do it, because the costs of modern armaments are high and the protests of the workers against militarism is persistent and aggressive. Nations like France and Japan cannot stand the pace. Neither can Great Britan for that matter. It would "pay" to disarm. But in one conference after another, called to consider disarmament, the result is further military preparation. Among the great nations only the Soviet Union has come out flat footed for disarmamen. and the Soviet Union was not invited to send delegates to the London Conference.

Question: Why does every disarmament conference called by the capitalist empires becme an arms parley before it is over?

Answer: Because every imperial statesman knows that the capitalist world is preparing for war, and he dares not let his country lag behind the procession.

So they are polishing the guns in London—preparatory for the next world-slaughter.

A LECTURE

ALBERT M. GLOTZER

Will Speak On

The Youth Movement

Saturday, April 5, 1930 at 8 P. M.

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Auspices: New York Branch
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Admission, 15 cents

Relieve Unemployment

Demand Large-Scale Credits to Soviet Union

By MARTIN ABERN

No appreciable change is to be noted in the employment situation throughout the United States. Mass unemployment remains, and will remain a permanent phenomenon of capitalism. No matter what remedies the ruling class proposes or applies, no matter how production is again reestablished,—rationalization, the replacement of man-power by new machinery and methods of equipment, (the belt-line, speed-up, stretch-out, etc.,) has vastly increased the army of the permanetnly unemployed.

Efforts, as never before, are being made to explain away the vast unemployment and the misery it has brought in its wake for the toiling masses. The apologists and crystal-gazers of capitalism try to make one vision a quartz of diamond richness, but the masses who feel the pinch of poverty are beginning to note that the bauble of capitalism, is truly but cheap glass. It becomes increasingly difficult to make out a case for capitalism, or to point to possibilities of any adequate improvement in the immediate or future situation for the masses.

Wm. Green's Report on Unemployment

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor who is always looking for a chance to put in a good word, as well as deed, for his masters, the employers, in his report on unemployment among the organized workers, is unable to cover up the appalling facts of unemployment among them. What can be the case, then, among the unorganized masses in the basic industries, the Steel Mills, Packing Industries, etc., who are affected to an even greater degree by unemployment than the unionized workers, who make up but a few million of the American working masses?

President Green's report for the first half of March on the subject of unemployment among union men, as based on reports from 24 leading cities, has to acknowledge that "improvement is not yet general...In ten cities unemployment was still increasing in March, and in four there was no change...In the different trades, conditions varied also...In the Printing and Metal trades there were more out of work than in February, and in both these trades, unemployment in March reached the highest figure for any month since 1927 when we began keeping records."

Nor is it possible for this labor faker, who regards capitalism as the best of all possible worlds, to hold out hopes of any genuine improvement of conditions in the near future, though he endeavors to hide the truth in a cloud of dusty words. Green goes on to say that "In service industries, transportation, food, clothing, and other manufactures there was no great change... Owing to the unusually large number out of work this year it will undouttedly be a long time before employment reaches normal proportions. In eleven cities unemployment is still at a very high figure of 20 percent or more out of work—in Jersey City, Cleveland, Denver, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Los Angeles, New York, Paterson and Boston."

Bosses and Government Ignore Needs of Workers

But there will be no "normal" again, notwithstanding Mr. Green, Hoover, and others who try to conceal the facts. But indeed it will be "a very long time" before the mass of unemployed workers or even a good part of them will have even the consolation of drawing a pittance of wages from a boss.

The Socialists and the American Federation of Labor fakers in New York were compelled, under the pressure of the rank and file workers and the militant propaganda of the Communists and the Left wing, to give consideration to the unemployment question. These elements, speaking through their Emergency Unemployment Conference have to acknowledge the extremity of the unemployed situation in New York. They estimate that five hundred thousand men and women are out of work in New York City, and similar horrifying figures can be brought forward from every city and town in the country.

Where the bosses and their governmental and labor lackeys cannot hide or lie about the true situation, they try to ignore or laugh away those forces who are trying to present a partial remedy for the acute conditions. All that the Mayor, James Walker of New York, can answer to the delegations of workers who made an effort to present the facts and the causes of unemployment to the city government was, "We

(Continued on Page 3)

YELLOW-DOG JUDGE

Hoover Nominee for Supreme Court

WASHINGTON—Judge John Johnston Parker, of the Fourth Federal Circuit Court of Appeals, nominated by President Hoover to the vacant place on the Supreme Court left by the death of Justice Sanford, has been identified as an endorser of the yellow-dog contract. It is wholly improbable that the Senate will fail to confirm this injunction judge to a lifetime job. The wage workers know that Parker will be an extreme Tory on all industrial issues that come before the court.

It was in 1920 that the 50,000 organized coal miners in West Virginia began their strike to make the remaining coal fields in that state union territory. Half a score of years had shown that coal miners in West Virginia had no civil rights that a coal company or a local official would recognize. Logan county, then as now, was a feudal stronghold into which a union organizer ventured at the risk of his life. Finally a campaign was begun to organize the miners in all the fields, and to carry the union message to Logan. In 1922 occurred the "union crusade" which sent thousands of miners, with members of their families, marching across the hills toward anti-union mines at Logan. State troops and constabulary were rushed to stop the movement. Leaders of the march were arrested, and later were tried for murder. In the midst of this excitment an injunction was issued by Judge McClintic of the Federal District Court at Charleston, forbidding the union men to suggest either striking or joining a union, to miners who had signed yellow-dog contracts with mining companies.

McClintic's impeachment was sought, but he held his seat by reason of the support given him by organized capital in West Virginia and throughout the industrial East. The Mine Workers appealed from his injunction. After many delays, lasting until April 18, 1927, Judge Parker, in the Circuit Court of Appeals, rendered a decision upholding McClintic.

Now Hoover rewards this willing tool of the coal operators and capitalists.

The A.F. of L. in the South

For two months the American Federation of Labor has been "campaigning to organize" the South. About 100 special organizers are claimed to be in the field covering the five states of Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia and the two Carolinas, to concentrate mainly on the textile industry.

Results to date have borne out all the serious indictments made by the revolutionary movement against the A.F. of L. policy and methods. They have shown also that the Southern bourbons have not in the least relented in their hostility to union organization, even of the reactionary brand, but have rather intensified the offensive against the workers. The latter are giving ample proof of militancy and in the now less spectacular but still continuing sharp conflicts are making a mockery of the deceptive practices of the A. F. of L. with its spineless appeals to the bosses for friendly cooperation. Certainly there is a fertile field for union organization

Green Meets the Bosses

President Green is again touring the South to try further to put the Federation in the "right" light, to renew his pledges and, if possible, fully to win the favor of business (!!). On his last visit he did not forget to advise the employers to organize in order to make an end to cut-throat competition and particularly to emphasize common struggle against the Communists: "Accept us, or the alternative will be the Communists," said Green. No wonder that certain of the more far-sighted capitalist dailies give him a rather favorable reception, comparing him to a successful banker or head of a large business institution. The mayor of Memphis, Tenn., in welcoming Green to the city could therefore, think "hopefully" of the future, remind his audience that he (Green) had "saved the Federation from the Bolshevik tide in 1922."

Meanwhile even children under 16 years of age work the twelve hour shift in North Carolina. Just as the "organization campaign" started, the Piedmont mill in Gastonia administered a 20 per cent wage cut, reducing spinners from $14.30 to $11.78 per week and card hands from $14.40 to $12.00. This is at a twelve hour night shift and eleven hour day hift.

The Wage-Cutting Campaign and the Strikers

At the Riverside and Dan River mills at Danville, Va. a 10 per cent wage cut took effect on February 1st, bringing the average wage down from $18.69 to $16.75. Many, however, receive much less. The company claims, of course, that the workers, through the company union, voted the cut. In these mills Negroes are barred from the company union but not from the wage cuts. The president of the company, H. R. Fitzgerald, appears still able to draw his yearly salary of $85,000; and the dividends paid on its $7,500,000 common stock have kept the level of 10 per cent.

In general profits coming, out of the sweat and blood of the Southern textile workers, have piled into the coffers of the absentee owners. Senator Wheeler, quoting from a report in the Senate, stated that the American Viscose Co., producing two-thirds of all rayons, averaged a net profit of 48 per cent on $184,166,000 gross sales for the three year period 1926-29. Net profit, after all expenses, taxes and depreciation, amounted to $88,306,000, although the capital investment in 1922 was only $10,000,000.

The Marion Clinchfield mills, N. C., have announced that the stretchout system is to be put back into effect and, according to reports, there is strike talk among the workers. 135 families are still evicted from the company houses since the last strike. At Swannanoa the weavers in the Beacon Blanket Co.'s mill have struck against the stretchout system and predict that their ranks will grow.

At the American Bemberg Glanzstock Co. mills at Elizabethton, Tenn., the workers succeeded in obtaining control of the company union. Immediately wholesale discharges followed, against which the workers struck on March 3rd. Over 2,000 workers responded to the call and are now carrying on active picketing.

Southern Workers Show Militancy

Such are the reports from the South. The present Elizabethton strike is the third within less than a year. Without any financial backing and without any strike relief whatever, nevertheless these Southern workers show splendid examples of class solidarity, worthy of becoming object lessons for the worker north of the Mason-Dixon line. McMahon and other leaders in charge of the "drive" have been the most emphatic in stating that they did everything in their power to avert strikes. Unquestionably so; that is the particular mission of the A. F. of L. in the South. Vice-President Gorman of the U. T. W., one of the committee of three in charge, offers the mill barons "cooperation of the U. T. W. in stabilizing labor costs and removing inefficiency in accordance with the labor-management cooperation plan worked out on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad'". The Southern workers, however, have already had lessons aplenty in company unionism, for which the B. and O. plan is but another name. By their own initiative they show the way, even forcing these reactionary leaders to move a step ahead.

Left Wing Must Adopt United Front Policy

Meanwhile the National Textile Workers union under Left wing leadership has apparently left the southern field uncontested to the A. F. of L. Not because the field for organization and militant struggle is less fertile now than before, to which the reports cited above bear witness. No, it is the penalty of false policies which now leaves the reactionaries in complete command. Undoubtedly the Left wing could yet have been an important factor. With correct **united front policies,** particularly at the height of the bourbon lynching campaign, at the time of the assaults at Gastonia and the killings at Marion, the whole crew of A. F. of L. organizers could not have separated the Left wing from the working masses of the South. Such a policy would have become a mighty lever to extend, to unify and strengthen these many scattered strikes, and thus become a mighty weapon against the bosses. There were conferences held at the time, at which delegates of both unions participated, which could have become splendid opportunities for the practical organization of the united front. Naturally, the A. F. of L. leaders would have opposed this most strenuously; that was to be expected. But, with this policy, whom would the workers follow? The Left wing, of course.

Lessons of the past should be taken advantage of to help guide the present and the future; and it is time that the Left wing learns this lesson.—A. S.

Auto Bosses in Struggle for World Markets

Early in January Col. L.P. Ayres, economist of the Cleveland Trust Co., wrote: "If conditions in the automobile industry can improve vigorously in the early months of the year there will be little cause for concern about the course of general business."

But this does not seem to have taken place. Instead the **Annalist** reports that auto production the first week of March was only one half of last year, while the production schedules of Ford and Chevrolet are both lower than they were a month ago. And for the first two months of the year total production of autos and trucks was just one third lower than it was for the first two months of 1929. Clearly, this industry does not "improve vigorously."

With a falling domestic demand for cars what is happening to exports—the hope of auto manufacturers? Last year they sent abroad only $234 million worth of passenger cars as compared with $263 million in 1928. However, though their value declined, the number of cars increased as did the value of trucks exported and the value of auto parts and accessories. There was a gain of 8% in the value of all auto exports in 1929 as compared with 1928. But this gain was much less than that of 1928 over 1927 which was 27%.

European Capitalists, Resist American Penetration

European motor capitalists have been putting up a militant resistance to the exports of American auto makers. The French manufacturers raised a storm of protest from American exporters, when they introduced bills into the French Chamber setting a prohibitive duty on U. S. cars. The Americans immediately formed a "Committee of Defense" to protect their interests, brought pressure to bear on the French government, including threats of reprisals against French goods and, through the American embassy, compelled the French to recede from their position. The French tariff will probably raise the duties on cars only 10%, making a 55% duty which will still permit the Americans to do business at a profit. But the French car makers want an 80 to 90% duty and will put up a strenuous fight for it. Even if the 10% compromise bill should go through this year there is nothing—but still more American pressure—to prevent increased duties being levied later on.

At the same time the Germans have limited the number of American cars to be imported, through an agreement with Belgian, Italian, French, Czechoslovakian and Austrian manufacturers. This action foreshadows further joint effort to block the growing imports of American cars, and a cartel of all European auto makers.

All signs thus point to increased opposition by the motor capitalists of Europe to being "conquered commercially" by the United States.

British Labor Fakers Aid Bankers

And Britain, under the aggressive lead of the labor government, is not at the tail of this procession. It aims to get its own foot further into the world's auto markets and to fight the advances of the American magnates. Early in the year London reported that J. H. Thomas, chief foreign sales promoter of the labor government, had been in secret meeting with the leaders of the British auto industry urging them to evolve plans to increase their export trade, and to combine and rationalize their factories further in order to compete with American high-speed production.

These foreign developments indicate what is in store for American auto workers, as well as for their brothers working in native or American-owned factories in Europe. The fierce competition for markets is reflected in mass unemployment, more wage cuts and speed up, for those left with precarious jobs in the plants of Detroit, Pontiac, Lansing and Flint—as well as those of Paris, Frankfurt, Berlin and Milan.

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NO COMPENSATION FOR FINGERLESS BOYS

RALEIGH, N. C.—Two boys, one 16, the other 15, have been denied compensation for the loss of fingers in mill machines. They were not doing the work for which they were paid, the state industrial commissioner ruled. The 16-year-old boy, white, lost two fingers and a thumb in a cotton mill and the younger boy, a Negro, lost three fingers in a veneer factory.

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TYPO MEN MEET IN SEPTEMBER

HOUSTON, Tex.—Committees have been appointed to prepare for the annual convention of the Intl. Typographical Union, which will meet for the first time in this section of the country in September. 2,000 delegates and visitors are expected.

LABOR HATERS MERGE FORCES

The merging of Chase Natl. Bank, Equitable Trust Co. and Interstate Trust Co. places Rockefeller interests at the head of the largest bank in the world.

Until now Rockefeller's Natl. City Bank has been the largest in the United States, but London has held its leadership with the largest in the world. The new mammoth Chase Natl. with total deposits of $2,100,000,000 now steps ahead of the Midland Bank, Ltd., leading British bank, and registers the fact that New York has displaced London as the world's financial center.

Winthrop. W. Aldrich who has been president of the Equitable Trust Co. will represent Rockefeller interests as president of the giant combine. He is brother-in-law of John D. Rockefeller Jr. and was personal representative of the Oil Emperor in the Indiana Standard Oil fight last year.

American Capitalists Combining

Other powerful industrial overlords, in addition to the Rockefeller men, are directors of the new financial titan. Copper and iron mining interests are represented by D. C. Jackling, American Smelting and Refining Co. by F. H. Brownell, utility interests by G. M. Dahl, the Western Union Telegraph by Newcomb Carlton, explosives and chemicals by W. S. Carpenter of the DuPont Co., packing interests by F.E.White of Armour's, the international match trust and the sugar trust by H. O. Havemeyer, silk textiles by T. F. Victor, expresses and railroad interests by Cornelius Vanderbilt and other railroad magnates.

As Aldrich has represented Rockefeller interests in a Morgan bank, so now Morgan interests sit on the new combine through Geo. H. Howard and F. L. Polk (utilities), Alfred P. Sloan of General Motors, A. H. Griswold of International Tel. and Tel. and G. K. Morrow of Morgan's grocery interests.

Bitterly Anti-Labor

For the workers in the United States, this merger means a further step in consolidating the strongest financial interests, whose anti-union policies are well known. Strikes in the factories, mills and mines controlled by these directors have always been savagely broken up as scabs, thugs, police, courts and churches have been lined up to break the workers' resistance.

Internationally, this latest and mightest financial merger marks a new stage in the British-American conflict. Rockefeller's Natl. City Bank has long been an outpost of American imperialist finance in territory once dominated by British investors. Now the Chase Natl. steps forward under Rockefeller leadership to displace a British bank as largest in the world.

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STATE LABOR HEAD SHOWS HEAVY UNEMPLOYMENT IN MICHIGAN

DETROIT—Speaking at a Detroit student gathering, Eugene J. Brock, state commissioner of labor stated:

"The situation here in Michigan has become steadily worse," said Brock. "Where we usually have 3,000 families totally destitute in Detroit we now have 12,000. In the state at large over 100,000 are totally dependent on charity for their continued existence. 75,0000 persons have already been compelled to leave the state.

"This is one of the busiest seasons of the year for both furniture and automobiles and yet we find unemployment reaching unprecedented figures in Grand Rapids, the furniture center, while out of 48,000 workers in Flint only 28,000 are employed. And they are employed only on part time.

"In Detroit less than 60% of the workers are at work and even they are working considerably less than two-thirds full time."

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ASHEVILLE, N. C.—More than 2,000 workers are now employed at the new Enka rayon mill near Asheville. Of these 1,270 are girls and 750 men.

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Relieve Unemployment

(Continued from page 1)

have wasted two hours listening to political propaganda". From such as these—the Walkers, et al—nothing can indeed be expected. It is for the workers to understand and act in their own interests.

Workers Begin to See Capitalism as Cause of Unemployment

It is no longer possible to get all the workers to accept the situation as quietly as they have in the past. Greater numbers of them are becoming conscious of the situation and the causes behind mass unemployment. They are beginning to recognize that unemployment grows out of, is nurtured by, increases, and cannot be done away with under capitalism. Thus they are driven to the consideration of ways and means for the abolition of capitalism.

The Senate Committee on Commerce listens for hours upon hours and days upon days to capitalists or their representatives, discusses business growth, tariff revision, censorship of radical and scientific literature, but they will not permit and will not listen to representatives of workers who have definite measures to put forward for the alleviation of unemployment. This was very clearly demonstrated when the representatives of the Trade Union Unity League were refused a hearing on the matter of unemployment. To listen to representatives of the workers is not to the liking of the bosses; but soup lines remain meanwhile and the poverty of the masses increases.

What a mockery the "benefits" of capitalist society are to the working masses, is exhibited by the words of Dr. Julius Klein, assistant United States Secretary of Commerce and a close co-worker of President Hoover, who states: "At least two-thirds of the population of the world live in countries where a considerable proportion of the people are underfed."

To Aid Unemployed, Demand Credits for Soviet Government

Hoover "strikes up the band" with a roar of prosperity that is to come and writes the score for programs of work, building and reconstruction. But all remains on the sheet. Nothing is said of the utilization of such actual sources as would make possible the employment of tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of American workers now out of a job. We refer here to the silence on the question of the extension of large-scale and long time credits to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

This, on the one hand, would make possible the purchase of large orders of machinery for the industrialization of the Soviet Union, as well as modern agricultural equipment for use on collective and Soviet farms; and, on the other hand, it would thereby make possible in return the greater export from the Soviet Union of various articles of consumption, such as, grain, butter, meats, as well as those products which the Soviet Union now exports in large quantities, such as oil, timber, etc. Why this failure of the Hoover government, with all its talk of prosperity building, to utilize the possibility to aid materially the American workers through the medium of large-scale trade with and credit extensions to the Soviet government?

The material interests of both the American workers and the Soviet workers are affected by this question. Obviously, too, the material and political relations between the Soviet workers and the American masses would be enhanced and a better understanding gained by the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries, namely, the recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States.

It should be plain to every worker that the establishment of big and planned economic exchange between the Soviet Union on the one hand and the United States on the other, could help in a good measure the amelioration of the economic situation of the masses of the unemployed in America, though it cannot of course solve the question of unemployment under capitalism.

Unite Forces on Behalf of Jobless

We have referred time and again to the narrow, sectarian policy that has been followed by the official Communist Party in the movement on behalf of the unemployed. The Party has failed to initiate a broad movement for the unemployed, to unite all possible elements on this issue. By their failure to propose a united front to the socialists, A. F. of L. and other elements being jerked into motion by rank and file pressure, the official Communist Party has made and makes it easier for these social reformists and outspoken capitalist supporters to lead the unemployed movement into channels that betray the interests of the workers. Not one real step has the Party taken to develop such a united front movement.

The official Communist Party press is filled with the arrests and persecution of workers throughout the country who engaged in activities in the unemployed movement, organizing the unorganized, etc. It is necessary to unite all possible forces for the defense of these arrested workers and against the attempts of the bosses and the government to frame them up and railroad them to prison. But the defense movement of the Communist Party, as expressed through the International Labor Defense, rejects in practice any proffers to aid the defense of the arrested and persecuted workers and continues a narrow line on all fronts.

Demand Communist Party Change Its Isolation Policy

It is high time that the Communist Party turns sharply away from this course that leads to further isolation and weakening of the prestige of the Communist movement.

Such a broad united front movement can make militant efforts on behalf of the unemployed for work or compensation, a shorter work day, lessening of the speed-up, a campaign upon the United States government for large-scale and long time credits to and recognition of the Soviet government by the United States government.

It was to be expected, as we anticipated, that the national unemployment conference of the Trade Union Unity League, with a narrow outlook, would prove chiefly a talkfest and hence will leave its various slogans on behalf of the unemployed largely paper resolutions. It is time for the Party to call a halt to such practices and conceptions.

Methods in the Unemployed Movement

On the burning issue of mass unemployment, which will remain a central problem for capitalism and which the Communists must know how to utilize effectively, the Left wing and Communists have to present the issue concretely so that every worker can understand the partial program of the Communists for the relief of the unemployed. The appeals to the mass of the unemployed and the employed cannot be based merely on the abstraction of solidarity. A big task is to reduce to the minimum the friction between the employed and the unemployed that naturally grows out of the economic situation. A broad united front movement is imperative which has the possibilities in it to bring together more closely the employed and unemployed, the organized and unorganized in the country, and which can also be the means of serving to cement the alliance of workers in all lands. The economic and political reasons speak loudly for such a policy..

It is therefore, for this reason, among others, that we regard it necessary for the Communists to conduct a campaign for and to make demands upon the Hoover government for the establishment of broad and long time credits to the Soviet Union by the United States. This should, in fact, be a central slogan of the Communists in all countries. It is possible to demonstrate to the American workers the simple material needs that link them closely with the needs of the Soviet masses. The refusal of the Hoover government, in the face of mass unemployment in the United States, to recognize the Soviet Union and thereby to facilitate vast economic relations between the two countries, more than ever makes this a national political issue. The Communists must make it clear that the development of economic relations on a larger scale between the two countries also increases many time the opportunity to strengthen the sympathy of the American working class toward the Soviet Union.

Tasks of the Communists

To the Communists it should be plain that such an economic development, the wider importation of machinery and agricultural equipment, would aid tremendously the five-year plan of the Soviet government (howsoever crudely, mechanically and arbitrarily this plan is being carried out by the Stalinists.) (We do not here deal with the question, that naturally arises through the growth of such a policy, of international political and economic relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world and its contradictions: such as the reduction to absurdity of the theory of socialism in one country (Stalin- Bucharin) and the peculiar brand of National-Socialism of the Right wing of the Western countries (Brandler-Lovestone) nor of all the other contradictions which can be solved only in the arena of the international socialist revolution. These will be dealt with in other articles.)

What we reiterate again in the sharpest manner are:

1. Revive the policy of the United Front for a struggle in the interests of the unemployed.

2. Build a genuine mass movement of the unemployed.

3. Organize a wide national defense movement for the aid of the arrested and persecuted workers at the hands of the ruling class.

The rank and file of the Communist Party must demand of the leadership that it stop at once its sectarian and isolationist policy and that it unite all Communist forces to lead an effective struggle for the above demands.

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Buffalo Unemployment Heavy

BUFFALO—Again the workers of Buffalo have been promised "pie by and by". Meanwhile they will have to sate their hunger with the more solid feel of police billies. One doubts if the promise of "better times" that comes from the head of the Chamber of Commerce will enable the workers to extend their credit at the corner grocery. For the present they are permitted to starve.

Buffalo is a highly industrial town and conditions are very bad. "Normally" there are about 8,000 unemployed workers in the region. According to the figures of John J. Johnston, secretary of the Buffalo Central Labor Council, there are at present about 40,000 unemployed in the city alone. Johnston bases his figures primarily upon reports of the skilled and semi-skilled organized in the trade unions, so that the percentage of unemployment is actually higher. Even Johnston's figures would show one out of every four Buffalo workers unemployed.

The reports from the various charitable organizations testify to the miserable conditions of the unorganized workers especially. The municipal department of public welfare is now giving aid to 3,400 families, three times the average number. When we recollect the case of the youth who was recently shot and killed while taking a loaf o bread, it is testimony to the fact that the so-called charitable organizations do everything to discourage and humiliate the workers who come to them for aid. Large numbers have, nevertheless, asked, but only to be denied aid.

The hokum of increased building construction is also being handed out in this city. Average unemployed among the building trades at this time of the year is less than 40%. The report of secretary Johnston itself indicates that 53% of the workers in the building industry are out of work. Over 15,000 workers stormed the city employment office one Friday for snow shovelling work. About 1000 were hired for the short time needed. A class conscious labor movement yet needs to develop.

Φ

SPARTANBURG, S. C.—A bill to curb stretchout by prohibiting operation of more than 48 looms in South Carolina by one textile worker has been unfavorably reported to the state legislature by its committee on commerce and manufacturing.

Φ

NEW BEDFORD, Mass.—New Bedford textile mills are operating at only 55% of capacity, with 25,000 looms idle out of a total of 55,000. This is a high mark for inactivity in this textile center

Communist League to Print Important Books

The Communist League of America (Opposition) will begin the publication shortly of a series of books and documents of the most extraordinary interest and importance to the working class and the revolutionary Communist movement in general. This material which represent some of the most important writings, speeches, theses, etc., of the Russian Opposition, of Trotsky, Rakovsky, Zinoviev, Radek and others, has never been published in the English language. They have been suppressed by the Stalin-Bucharin factions.

Despite the fact that these documents were presented officially to the congress of the Communist International, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to various Party plenums, and represent the views and platform of the Opposition, they have never seen the light of day. Among these books, the first of which will soon be out, are:

1. **The Revolution Disfigured** by L. D. Trotsky.
2. **The Theory of the Permanent Revolution** by L. D. Trotsky.
3. **The Platform of the Russian Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists).**
4. **The Struggle for Peace and the Anglo-Russian Committee** by L. D. Trotsky.
5. **The Declaration of the 500.** (This is a lengthy document addressed to the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by 500 of the leading Bolsheviks of the Russian Communist Party).
6. **The Chinese Revolution and the Thesis of Comrade Stalin** by L. D. Trotsky.
7. **The Thesis on the Chinese Revolution** by G. Zinoviev.
8. **The Defeat of the Chinese Revolution** by Karl Radek.
9. **A Letter of Three Comrades.** (Representatives of the Stalin faction in China) presented in March 1927. A powerful criticism of the line of Stalin in the Chinese Revolution.
10. **Speches and Articles** of L. D. Trotsky to the 8th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Chinese Question.
11. **The Transformation of the Russian Proletariat and the Party as Created by the Proletarian Dictatorship** by Ch. Rakovsky.
12. ***The Crisis of the Right-Centrist Bloc* and the Perspectives** by L. D. Trotsky.
13. **On the New Stage** by L. D. Trotsky.
14. **The Crisis in the International** by L. D. Trotsky.
15. ***Speech of Comrade Vuyovitch*** to the 8th Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.
16. **A Sorry Document,** by L. D. Trotsky (On the Question of Capitulation).
17. ***The Legend of "Trotskyism".***

These books and documents, which have already been translated from the Russian, German and French, will fill a number of large volumes, form an inexhaustible reservoir for the student of revolutionary Marxism and Leninism. They will serve as a practical guide for the Communists in the working class struggles. They enrich greatly the library of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice. All of these, as well as others now being translated, will be published with systematic regularity through the **Militant** at popular prices which will enable every worker to purchase them. The first of these to be printed will be **"The Revolution Disfigured".**

Φ

FROM A SOUTHERN WORKER

Richmond, Va.

Dear Fellow Workers:

I rode in a street car and found a copy of the **Militant** on a seat. I must say that everything you say is certainly so with us working people.

I've been a former I. W. W., but have dropped out. I wonder if you would send me a copy of the **"Real Situation in Russia"** which you advertise, by the great revolutionary leader, Leon Trotsky. I'm interested in happenings in Russia and I want the true facts—and I'm sure that book will give me all the necessary information.

I've been out of work for the last five months, and haven't a penny to my name, and therefore would appreciate it if you could send me the **Militant** free, and some back copies will also be O. K. One couldn't buy a job here...We need the kind of unions you are fighting for. J. J.

The Period of Right-Centrist Down-Sliding in the C. I.

by L. D. TROTSKY

The following section represents chapter eight from the larger work of L. D. Trotsky entitled, **"Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch"**, which will be pubished soon in book form by the Communist League. **"Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch"**, at the same time represents the third section of the document, **"The Criticism of the Draft Program of the Communist International"** which was presented to the 6th Congress of the Comintern on behalf of the Russian Opposition.

The entire book was suppressed from the delegates to the 6th Congress, in violation of the statutes of the Communist International. The Program Commission of the Congress was permitted to read only two of the sections of comrade Trotsky's historic document, and then compelled to return them to the archives. But this particular section **"Revolutionary Strategy and Tactics in the Imperialist Epoch"**, which presents an exhaustive analysis of the strategy and tactics of the Communist movement in this period, was totally suppressed from the entire Congress. The Communist League has obtained a copy of it, along with other documents mentioned in another column, of which this chapter is now presented to our readers. This entire book will appear shortly in book form at popular prices.—Ed.

The policy of the most important Communist Parties, decided upon at the Fifth Congress, very soon showed itself to be completely inadequate. The mistakes of the specious "Leftism" which hampers the development of the Communist Parties, later gave the impetus to new empirical zigzag deviations, and those to an accelerated sliding down towards the Right. When people are burned by hot milk, they begin to blow cold on water, too. The "Left" Central Committees of a whole series of Parties were just as violently overthrown as they had been formed before the Fifth Congress. The adventurist Leftism made way for an open opportunism of a Right-Centrist type. To comprehend the character and the tempo of this organizational Rightward swing, it must be recalled that Stalin, the leader of this swing, back in September 1924, characterized the passing of Party leadership to Maslow, Ruth Fischer, Treint, Suzanne Girault and others, as the expression of the Bolshevization and as an answer to the demands of the Bolshevik workers who, on their way to the revolution "want to have revolutionary leaders" too.

Stalin wrote, "the last half year is noteworthy in the respect that it brought a fundamental reversal in the life of the Communist Parties of the West, in the sense that the social democratic remnants were liquidated, the Party cadres Bolshevised and an isolation of the opportunist elements took place." (**Pravda,** September 20, 1924).

But only ten months later the true "Bolsheviks" and "revolutionary leaders" were declared social democrats and renegades, removed from Party leadership and thrown out of the Party.

Despite this panicky character of the amputation of leaders, very often through rude and disloyal mechanical means of the apparatus, a somewhat rigid ideological dividing line between the ultra-Left policy and the period of opportunist down-sliding that followed it, can nevertheless be drawn.

The Revisionism oi Stalin and Bucharin

In the questions of industry and agriculture in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, of the colonial bourgeoisie, of the "peasant" parties in the capitalist countries, of socialism in one country, of the role of the Party in the proletarian revolution, the revisionist theories already appeared in fullest bloom in 1924-25. They cloaked themselves with the banner of the struggle against "Trotskyism" and found their plainest, most distinct opportunist expression in the resolutions of the April conference of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1925.

Taken as a whole, the course to the Right represents the attempt at a half-blind, purely empirical and belated adaptation to the retardation of the revolution caused by the defeat of 1923. The original attitude of Bucharin, as has already been mentioned, was founded in the "permanent" development of the revolution, and that in the literal, purely mechanical sense of this word. Bucharin granted no "breathing spaces", interruptions or defeats of any kind and considered it a revolutionary duty to continue the "offensive" under all circumstances.

In the above quoted—in its way programmatical—article of Stalin "On the International Situation", which presents the very first entry by Stalin into international questions, we are shown that the second author of the draft also professed the very same purely mechanical "Left" conception in the first period of the struggle against "Trotskyism". For this conception, only a "decay" of the social democracy, a "Leftward turn" of the workers, a "growth" of the Communist Parties and an "approach" of the revolution, existed always and unalterably. But the one who could look about him and discern things was and is a "liquidator". This new "tendency" needed a year and a half in order to observe something new after the change in the situation in Europe in 1923, so as then to transform itself in panic into its opposite. The leadership orientated itself, without any synthetic understanding of our epoch and its inner tendencies, only after the feelings (Stalin) and filled the fragments of conclusions thus received every time with scholastic schemas (Bucharin). The political line as a whole, therefore, represents a chain of zig-zags; the ideological bond, a kaleidoscope of schemata that have the tendency to lead every fragment of the Stalinist zig-zag to absurdity.

The Sixth Congress would act correctly if it were to decide to elect a special commission which would have the task to gather all those theories that were created by Bucharin, for instance—only for motivating the various stages of the Anglo-Russian Committee. This commission would have to put these theories together chronologically and bring them into a system so as to attempt to draw a malarial curve of the ideas contained in them. That would become one of the most instructive strategical diagrams. The same also holds for the Chinese revolution, the economic development of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and also every less important question. Blind empiricism, sometimes scholasticism, that is the course that still awaits its condemnation. The effects of this course showed themselves more fully in the three most important questions: In the internal policy of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, in the Chinese revolution and in the question of the Anglo-Russian Committee. In the same direction, even if not so obvious and less fatal with regard to the consequences, this course of the Comintern was also reflected in all the other political questions.

So far as the internal questions of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics are concerned, a sufficiently detailed characterization of the policy of down-sliding is given in the **Platform of the Bolshevik-Leninists (Opposition).** We must limit ourselves here with a reference to this **Platform.** This **Platform,** moreover, now receives an apparently unexpected confirmation by the fact that all the attempts of the present leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to free itself from the consequences of the policy of the years 1923 to 1928 are motivated through nearly literal quotations from this **Platform,** whose authors and adherents are dispersed in the prisons and in exile. The fact, however, that the present leadership has recourse to the **Platform** only in sections and particles, without connecting one end with the other, makes the new Left turn extremely unsteady and hopeless, but at the same time gives the **Platform,** as the generalizing expression of a real Leninist course, an all the greater value.

The question of the Chinese revolution is dealt with in the **Platform** insufficiently, not concretely and in part is positively false (Zinoviev). In consideration of the decisive importance of this question for the Comintern we are obliged to subject it to a more detailed investigation in a special section (III).

So far as the Anglo-Russian Committee is concerned, the third most important question from the strategical experiences of the Comintern in the last years, there still remains for us, after all that has already been said by the Opposition in a series of articles, speeches and theses, to sum up the results here briefly.

The Results of the Anglo-Russian Committee

The point of departure of the Anglo-Russian Committee, as we have already seen, lay in the impatient endeavor to leap over the young and too slowly developing Communist Party. The circumstances gave the whole experiment a false character already even before the general strike.

The Anglo-Russian Committee was perceived, not perhaps as only a purely episodic bloc of leaders that would unfailingly have to be and would be torn demonstratively at the first serious test in order to compromise the General Council. No, in it, not only Stalin, Bucharin, Tomsky and others, but also Zinoviev saw a long-lived "friendship", a weapon for the systematic revolutionization of the English working masses, and if not the gate, at least its threshhold, over which the revolution of the English proletariat would stride. The Anglo-Russian Committee became transformed—the further the greater—from an episodic understanding to an untouchable principle that stood above the real class struggle. That became obvious at the time of the general strike.

The entry of the mass movement into the open revolutionary stage threw even those liberal labor politicians who had become somewhat Left back into the camp of the bourgeois reaction. They betrayed the general strike openly and consciously and then also undermined and betrayed the miners' strike. The possibility of betrayal is always imbedded in reformism. That does not mean of course that reformism and betrayal are one and the same at every moment. Agreements can be temporarily made with the reformists, if they make a step forward. But to keep up a bloc with them when they commit treason shortly before the development of a movement, signifies a criminal neglect and carelessness towards the traitors and a veiling of betrayal.

The general strike had the task of excercising a united pressure upon the employers and the state with the power of the five million workers, for the question of mining was becoming the most important question of State policy. Thanks to the betrayal of the leadership, the strike was already strangled in the first stage. It was a very strong illusion, still to believe after that, that an isolated economic struggle of the mine workers alone would achieve that which the General Strike did not achieve.

That is where the power of the General Council lay. It aimed with cold calculation at the defeat of the mine workers, in the course of which considerable sections of the workers would be convinced of the "correctness" and the "common sense" of the Judas directions of the General Council.

The Role of the Russian Unions in the Bloc

The retention of the friendship bloc with the General Council, with simultaneous support of the lingering economic strike of the mine workers, against which the General Council came forward, was to some extent calculated to create the possibility for the head of the trade unions to come out of this heaviest test with the lightest possible loss of confidence.

The role of the Russian trade unions here, from the revolutionary standpoin, was a very unfavorable and positively pitiful one. Of course, a support of the economic strike, even an isolated one, was absolutely necessary. There can be no two opinions on that among revolutionaries. Yet this support should have borne not only a financia, but also a revolutionary-political character. The All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions should have declared openly to the English Mine Workers Union and the whole English working class, that the mine workers' strike could count seriously upon success only if, by its stubbornness, its tenacity and its impetus, it could prepare the way for a new outbreak of the General Strike. That would have been achieved, however, only by an open direct struggle against the General Council, that agency of the government and the mining employers. The struggle to transform the economic strike into a political strike signified, therefore, an intense political and organizational war against the General Council. The first step to such a war had to be the break with the Anglo-Russian Committee which had become a reactionary hindrance, a chain on the feet of the working class.

No revolutionary who weighs his words will maintain that a victory would have been assured along this direction. Yet the victory on the whole was only possible on this road. A defeat on such a road, which can lead later to victory, would ripen lessons, that is, implant the revolutionary idea in the working class in the meantime. Whereas, the mere financial support of the lingering and inextricable trade union strike (trade union strike—in its methods; revolutionary-political—in its aim) only meant grist to the mill of the General Council, which could await calmly until the crumbling of the strike was forced through starvation and it was thereby proved that it "was right". It was not of course easy for the General Council to await this end as an open strike-breaker for several months. Precisely for this very critical period did the General Council need the Anglo-Russian Committee as its political protection from the masses. In this manner the questions of the mortal class struggle between English capital and the proletariat, between the General Council and the mine workers, were, so to speak, transformed into questions of a friendly discussion—between the two allies of the bloc, the English General Council and the All Russian Central Council of Trade Unions on the subject of which of the two roads was better: the road of an agreement or the road of an isolated economic struggle. The inevitable outcome of the strike was the agreement, that is, the tragic decision of the friendly "discussion" in favor of the General Council.

The Bloc with the General Council and «Stabilization»

The entire policy of the Anglo-Russian Committee, as a result of its false line, was from beginning to end only an aid to the General Council, a support and a strengthening of it. Even the long financial support with which the strike was sustained by the great self-sacrifice on the part of the Russian working class, did not serve the mine workers or the English Communist Party, but only the same General Council. And, as a result of this greatest revolutionary movement in England since the time of Chartism, no growth of the English Communist Party, while the General Council sits in the saddle even more firmly than before the General Strike.

These are the results of this unique "strategical maneuver".

The obstinacy with which the retention of the bloc with the General Council was advocated, which was converted to direct servility at the disgraceful Berlin session in April, 1927, was likewise motivated by reference to the "stabilization". During a retardation in the revolutionary development, one is forced to cling to Purcell, you see. This argument, which appeared to be very convincing, perhaps to a Soviet official or a trade unionist of the type of a Melnitchansky, forms in reality a perfect example of blind empiricism—

(Continued on Page 8)

Throughout the World of Labor

In Spain after the Fall of the Dictatorship

Monarchy, Republic or Proletarian Revolution?

On March 1st, we published an article by comrade Gorkin on "The Fall of Primo de Rivera and Its Consequences". In connection with this article comrade Trotsky made certain comments, bearing particularly on the agitation of the petty bourgeoisie for a republic and the attitude of the workers towards this agitation. Comrade Gorkin replies below.

* * *

Dear Comrade Trotsky:

I shall attempt to clarify you on the points raised in your letter of February 12.

In my article, I stated that **"in the beginning** the struggle would be led by the petty bourgeoisie, the republicans, and the socialists" Already the different conspirators against the dictatorship have been led by the petty bourgeoisie in concurrence with a large part of the army which feels itself to be "republican". The proletariat has hardly ever interfered for two principal reasons: because the organizers do not inspire them with confidence—besides, the organizers fear the intervention of the proletariat—and because there is no Communist party or revolutionary class organization capable of launching the struggle. And the set-backs of these conspiracies have been due to just that: the lack of intervention of a genuine revolutionary element. It is a fact, too, that the struggle against the monarchy—in a weak and legalistic manner, it is true—is now being led by the petty bourgeoisie. They hold the monarchy responsible—contrary to us, who, of course, hold imperialism as a whole responsible—for the Moroccan "adventure", the loss of millions in money and huge loss in life, crowned by the catastrophe at Annual, even as at the time of the coup d'etat. The dictatorship was the monarchy's last card. Almost everyone in Spain realized this. Sanchez Guerra, former leader of the Conservative Party, a thoroughly dynastic party, prepares for presiding over a sort of heterogeneous Left bloc, embracing those who demanded a revision of the constitution, the various shades of republicans, up to the socialists—we shall return to him in due time. Ossorio y Gallardo, one of Maura's former lieutenants, a christian socialist, known for his demagogy which very often forces him to use language more radical than that of the socialist "lackeys", threatens to call for an accounting of the King's liabilities; and Romanones himself—whom you know well for having caused your expulsion from Spain in 1916—has begun to extol a form of republic, presided over by the king— a form of "republican monarchy". He has saved the monarchy twice already and at present wishes to save it again, but under the cloak of—a president of the Republic. Those former politicians who dare to speak of their monarchism, do so in a very weak voice. So unpopular is the monarchy at the present time that even those most monarchistically inclined, believe it prudent to disguise themselves as republicans; an example is one of Maura's sons, the assassin of Ferrer. Plainly, this disguise can fool only imbeciles.

Why the Petty Bourgeoisie Are Republican

But let us return to our petty bourgeoisie. Their republicanism is, as you have so well put it, the expression of despair. This despair is the result of deep-seated political and economic causes. Thus—the heaviest taxes bear down upon them. From 1922 to 1928 levies increased by 1,292 million pesetas*. Provincial and municipal taxes increased proportionally (the sums realized by municipal and provincial councils increased to 965 millions between 1923 and 1929). Spain maintains a corps of officers of much higher rank proportionally than those of other countries. This explains why in the last budget, so large a budgetary item was added to the ordinary budget of the dictatorship; 800 million pesetas were assigned to the army and navy, whereas only a 172 million was assigned for public education. This does not take into account the 700 millions expended by the dictatorship for war material and the 877 millions spent for the navy, this being reckoned into the extraordinary budget, as well as the loan of 500 millions recently raised.

The deficit of the expositions of Seville and Barcelona, about 500 million pesetas, must be added. In a word, the ordinary budget has risen from 2,879 millions in 1923 to 4,185 millions and the public debt which was 14,700 millions in 1923 is today—these are the official figures—more than 21,000 million and to this must be added the debt of about 350 million pesetas destined for manipulation of the international money market. It can be said that at the liquidation of the dictatorial period the debt exceeded 23,000 million. Since Spain has a population of about 22 million this represents a debt of about 1,050 pesetas for each inhabitant.

To this must be added that during the dictatorial period the petty bourgeoisie suffered on two fronts: the constant intervention of the economic organs of the state which hindered its development, and the concentration of the national economy into the hands of the big financiers and industrialists which threatened its existence as a class. The republicanism of the petty bourgeoisie is completely explained: it holds the monarchy responsible for the experiences of the dictatorship and demands a new constitution which would make impossible a renewal of such experiences.

Fear of the Proletariat

Will the petty bourgeoisie be able to set into motion the masses of workers and peasants in a struggle for the bourgeois republic? No. Today as yesterday, during the conspiracies, it fears the proletariat. Recently the demonstrating unemployed in Madrid—we shall speak of the unemployment situation presently—sought the aid of the students. The latter, although clamorous the day before, refused. And the Republicans and Socialists said to the unemployed: "Remain quiet, you will spoil everything". The petty bourgeoisie who desire a small tranquil republic, attained by legalistic means are afraid that the proletariat will interfere with their plans. As between the reactionary bourgeoisie and the revolutionary proletariat, their choice will be made quickly. Besides, Sanchez Guerra is preparing to place himself at the head of the petty bourgeoisie and this is very significant. One word about this man: in 1903 while governor of Madrid he compromised himself in the assassination of a news dealer who took part in a workers' demonstration. In 1909 while minister together with Maura and La Cierva, he was one of those responsible for the "bloody week" of Barcelona, and for the assassination of Ferrer. In 1917 while at the head of the conservative government, he played a sinister role in violently supressing the great revolutionary strike and mutilating the dead bodies of the strikers. These are three small exploits of the "saviour" who is preparing to attempt the "operation".

The Condition of the Workers and Peasants

Before taking up what our position toward the republican petty bourgeoisie should be, let us say a few words on the situation of the workers and peasants. If the conditions of the petty bourgeoisie are bad, those of the workers are naturally much worse. This is especially evident in the form of chronic unemployment. For the past two years the number of unemployed has been: thirty percent of the mining basin of Asturia, sixty percent in the Biscay, from thirty to forty percent of the building industry of Madrid (in the latter industry in Madrid there are at present 35,000 unemployed).

The ultra-protectionist policies of the dictatorship during the last few years has lowered these figures somewhat, but these policies have at the same time caused living expenses to rise higher and higher. The unemployment situation will become intensified still more by the fact that the new government is stopping the major part of the public works undertaken by the dictatorship. The unemployed do not receive any aid from the state or from the municipalities. Those who do work receive niggardly wages.

The conditions of the agricultural workers are still worse. The Spanish peasantry, especially in Andalusia and in Castile, have always been subjected to the most miserable conditions possible. (Spain is a country with an agricultural economy; 71 percent of the population of Spain are peasants.) Side by side with the large estates there are thousands of agricultural farm workers without land and without work. In Andalusia side by side with acres and acres of non-productive land used for hunting, there are thousands of farm hands who work no more than 50 to 80 days during the year and that for starvation wages. It is there that the class differences are sharpest. Also, the class hatreds are easily aroused there. In 1918-1920, while struggles of large magnitude were unfolding in the principal centers under the influence of the October revolution, the Andalusian province was in a ferment of revolt. The workers burned the harvests of the large estates, ran through the streets crying "Long live Lenin!" "Long live Trotsky;" disarmed the police and freed their arrested comrades. The peasant nurses abanoned the children of the rich...

The Workers' Awakening

It is evident that the masses of workers and peasants will awake to struggle soon enough. If this awakening is not yet an accomplished fact, it is due to the absence of a strong and disciplined Communist Party and revolutionary unions. We should expect powerful strikes which must be coordinated by connecting the economic demands with revolutionary political aims. It will be necessary to know how to link up the strike movements with unemployed movements. This plainly calls for special organizing of unemployed. And if the movement becomes really serious, and if conditions warrant the belief that it can develop with sufficient rapidity, activity should be directed, as you say quite correctly, towards militant propaganda for the election of Soviets and for the permanent slogan, For a Workers' and Peasants' government. (The slogan has just been launched by the Spanish Communist Party.)

A few lines now on class organizations. The only Party that had a legal existence during the dictatorship, outside of the Patriotic Union, is the Socialist Party; and the only workers organization, aside from the so-called "free" unions (organized by Martinez Amido during the period of harsh oppression)—is the Confederation of Labor. The collaboration of the Socialists with all the economic and political organizations of the dictatorship was the price of this legality. The Socialist Party numbers between 7 and 8 thousand members; the Confederation of Labor, some 200 thousand members. The latter are recruited mainly in Madrid and the backward rural districts. The well known anarcho-syndicalist National Confederation of Labor succeeded with difficulty in retaining 25 thousand members. The worker and peasant masses will swiftly create powerful revolutionary organizations. It is highly improbable that the reformist organization will succeed in augmenting its effective forces (as a contrast the National Confederation of Labor can see once again the splendor of former times.) It remains for us Communists to gain influence in its midst and to try to obtain the leadership.

After what I have said above, it is unnecessary to lay much stress on the subject of our relations with social-bourgeois republicanism. For the petty bourgeoisie the republic is a goal; for us it can be a stage toward the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our tactics are clear; struggle against the Monarchy, and, at the same time unmask the republicans and socialists, while organizing the proletariat for the social revolution. Our permanent slogan must be: A government of the workers and peasants. When the moment arrives, we must agitate for the elections of Soviets. It would be ridiculous to forward this slogan now. The street fights against the police and their machine guns, the revolutionary strikes and the demonstrations with red flags in the forefront, exist unfortunately, only in the minds of the scribblers of Humanite. Having seen a manifesto of the Communist Party of Spain, calling on this for the future and not knowing a word of Spanish, nor, for that matter, a word of Leninism, they believe that this had actually happened.

The Opposition and the Party

A final very important point: our Oppositional relations with the Communist Party of Spain. The position of the Party could not be any weaker. Since its founding, it has suffered from a series of crises which have reduced it to almost nothing. The Communist International shares a large part of the responsibility for this situation. It has favored a leadership of bureaucrats without the following of the Party to a fighting, capable and devoted leadership.

The Party is beginning to reorganize. Possibilities exist for the formation of a strong proletarian Party (a Party with four, six or eight thousand well-disciplined members could be a revolutionary force of the first magnitude in Spain.) Its organization is not difficult at this moment; on the contrary, it is very easy. The betrayals of the Socialists and the relative state of decomposition of anarcho-syndicalism, make the situation favorable for this organization. We must primarily work toward the capture of the Federations (of the seven regional federations; the three most important are in fact with us: the Asturian, the Catalonian and the Valencian).

This is a very good starting point.

—GORKIN

* The peseta is worth about 12 cents on the exchange.

Φ

War on Russia Cry U. S. Imperialists

The "Russian menace" was the chief topic of discussion at a preparedness "patriotic dinner" held by the Reserve Officers' Association of the United States, at the Hotel Astor, New York City, on March 27.

Among those present were Mayor Walker of New York, General Ely, Brig. General Delafield, and Major Hardenbrugh. Coming together for a discussion of the possibility of an attack by a "foreign invader", the discussion continued on the need to increase the military preparedness of the United States. But the discussion did not linger on this very long. It turned to a discussion on who this "foreign invader" might be.

Militarist Hounds for War on Soviet Union

General Delafield in his speech minced no words in declaring that the menace to the world was Russia. He made it clear that this was not the problem of the United States alone, but became the task of the leading imperialists of the world to unite in this common struggle. The speech contained lengthy invectives against the working class government of the Soviet Union; in closing, Delafield emphasized the need of the United States to join "with France, Great Britain and the other nations in preparing to ward off the Russian menace." **(N. Y. Times,** March 28)

This session of militarists is part of the concerted organization of the capitalist powers preparing for assault against the Soviet Union. While disagreeing among themselves, they are as one on the question of uniting to destroy the working class of Soviet Russia and the proletarian dictatorship. It is well that the workers of this country remember the Walkers, Davisons, and Delafields.

GANDHI'S POLICY
AND THE PROLETARIAN MOVEMENT

According to recent newspaper reports, Gandhi, the Indian nationalist lea r, was preparing to use the power conferred on him by the Indian National Congress in the month of January, for the purpose of carrying on an active campaign of "non-cooperation" throughout the country.

This event is important in that it marks a new attempt of the bourgeoisie of India to resume the strugggle against British Imperialism under the pressure of continued agitation of the worker and peasant masses.

A problem of prime—one may say decisive—importance for British Imperialism, as well as for the Communist International, is that of the Indian Revolution. For England, its importance is infinitely greater than that of the Chinese Revolution. Although the Indian Revolutionary movement is unfolding thousands of miles away from the Metropolis, it affects one of the principal vital centers of the English Empire. As for the Communist International, it is occupied with a big battle in India, which, with improper leadership, can prove even more disastrous to it than its defeats in Germany in 1923 and in China in 1925-27.

British Policy in India

India is England's last great colony—Canada, Australia, South Africa, etc., have long since become Dominions under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie united with the English capitalists. India alone remains completely dependent on England. It embraces a mass of 300 million inhabitants, which means a formidable proletariat, although mainly a peasant one. Considerable English capital is invested in India; and in addition it provides an indispensible market for British industry. Its location, important from an economic point of view, has an added importance from a strategic point of view. India is the center of an expanse which extends southward to Africa and Australia, and northward to Egypt and China. English policy in the Mediterranean, Gibraltar, Malta and Suez, is determined by the necessity to maintain at any price the freedom of communication with India. Under these conditions, the necessity for continuing the domination of India by force cannot become weaker. Baldwin, Lloyd George or MacDonald—all carry out, and are compelled to carry out the same policy, that is, a policy of coercion and violence against the worker and peasant masses and in certain circumstances, even against the petty-bourgeoisie.

Gandhi's Policy Is Unstable

The nationalist bourgeoisie and Gandhi, its leader, pursue a policy of instability toward the government and toward the revolutionary masses. In India, as elsewhere, the petty bourgeoisie represents strata susceptible to various influences, and never able to pursue consistently and energetically either a reactionary or revolutionary policy. The petty bourgeoisie, and even large sections of the big bourgeoisie in India, are naturally nationalistic; that is, they demand national sovereignty for India, which means the right for the Indian bourgeoisie alone to exploit the worker and peasant masses. Among the Indian nationalists there are variations in program and in the means of applying it. Some would be satisfied with a Dominion status while others, now in the majority, want to push the struggle until complete independence is achieved. It is because of the pressure from the growing unrest of the masses, taking the form of important strikes in the large cities, that certain nationalist leaders, among them Gandhi, go as far as that.

But the truth is that these leaders have never stopped negotiating with British imperialism and betraying the revolutionary masses. This policy finds characteristic expression in the attitude of Gandhi, apostle of "non-violence" and "non-resistance" with the English imperialists, but who forgets that English domination is maintained only by violence, and that, like all class domination, it can be destroyed only by violence.

The Indian nationalists reissue under a new form, or at least are attempting to reissue the politics of the Chinese Kuo Min Tang, that is, an alliance of workers, peasants, artisans and the petty bourgeoisie under the leadership of the petty bourgeoisie against foreign imperialism. However, the revolutionary movement of the workers and peasants constantly outstrips the action of the nationalists.

Indian Masses Militant

This is because the workers—metallurgic, longshore, textile, as well as the farm hands, the artisans and the ruined peasants, etc.—fight against the British capitalists as being an enemy class. In order that their class liberation be complete, they must overthrow not only the domination of the British bourgeoisie but also that of the Indian bourgeoisie. For them the national deliverance can only be the first stage in mass actions which will culminate in the overthrow of all capitalist oppression, and in the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat through which will be achieved the emancipation of the workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat organized in a class party.

Naturally this perspective, which appears to be in line with the growing ferment of the masses, is violently combatted by all sections of the native or British bourgeoisie, and, at the moment, it is not at all favored by the Communist International. The programs of the liberals, conservatives and intellectuals in India is at bottom the same, the only difference being in phraseology. Their opposition to the native bourgeoisie is coupled with the suppression of all workers' movements. British capitalism alternates periods of political tension with periods of apparent concessions.

It is these policies on the one hand, and the pressure exerted by the revolutionary masses on the other, that determine the course of evolution of the nationalist petty bourgeoisie. Naturally, the form and speed of the movement of the masses can be influenced to a large extent by the tactics for struggle laid down by the Communist International.

Comintern Policy Continues Wrong Line

Unfortunately, the Communist International persists in a political bloc with the petty bourgeoisie in the same manner as that which led to the defeat of the Chinese proletariat. In theory it has corrected its tactical line. But in actuality it could not and still cannot change its method of combat. Its first concern should be the creation and building of a genuine proletarian party, completely independent of the various nationalists and "popular" groups. Only such a Party can lead the proletariat in virtue of the soundness of its doctrines, and its organization on the solid base of proletarian hegemony. But, it must be admitted, at present the Communist Party of India is almost non-existent. The Communist International carries on by means of superficial agitation among the nationalist masses, but it does nothing to hasten the formation of a genuine Communist Party in India. The International Communist press never makes mention of this Party. They never have a word to say about it. They never tell us of its struggles, its political developments, and of its activities among the masses.

This may seem astounding, but it is actually so. At the moment when a renewal of the proletarian struggle is unfolding, at the moment when the petty bourgeoisie is preparing to dupe the workers once again by drugging them into a meaningless struggle against English imperialism, the Indian Communist movement does not possess the least organization which would enable it, if not to conquer immediately, at least to place itself at the head of the struggling masses. The position of the Indian proletariat is thus very unfavorable. Ghandi, Nehru and the other nationalist chiefs enjoy great prestige among the peasant masses, and will make use of this prestige to deceive the masses, to check their revolutionary development, to bind them to conciliation with British imperialism. Before the cannon of the British police they will persuade the workers to refrain from all violence. What makes this a very serious situation is the absence of any coherent proletarian organization, of any Communist Party. The present trade union movement far from suffices as a base for the offensive of the masses. What they need are the cadres and the leadership of a Communist workers' organization.

Task Is to Build a Communist Party

An important movement of the Indian workers, especially in the cities where tens of thousands of proletarians live under conditions even worse than those of Chinese coolies, outstrips the nationalist chiefs in a Leftward direction. It is under this pressure that Gandhi and the National Congress have once again started the struggle against England. But it is necessary, it is indispensible for the future that these workers should be under the influence of the Communist movement. For the activity of the National Congress and of Nehru cannot lead on the masses. Actually they follow the masses, but are ready to turn against them.

It seems that the leadership of the Communist International should be aware of these dangers, but the false political line that it has been pursuing for years in the Indian revolutionary movement, carries it, in spite of itself, toward the formation of an organization wherein workers, peasants and petty bourgeois will be on equal footing. Having lost all trace of Marxist conduct and all means of control, the Communist International vaguely hopes for a spontaneous peasants' and workers' revolutionary movement against British Imperialism. But such confusionism invariably leads to defeat.

Actually the development of Indian revolutionary activity is a fact and the future of the struggle depends to a great extent on the possibility of supporting and leading it by means of a genuine Communist Party.

Paris, March 7, 1930.

The Split in the Leninbund

After barely six months struggle for the views of the Russian and the International Opposition led by comrade Trotsky, the Left Opposition in the German Leninbund was expelled at the instigation of Urbahns at a carefully "sifted" session of its National Executive Committee, on February 23.

After Maslow, Ruth Fischer, and Scholem emulated the example of capitulation set by Kamenev, Zinoviev, and others, the leadership of the Leninbund stood at the crossways. Its fundamental task was to sweep the boards clear of the theoretical and practical heritage of Maslow and R. Fischer, to build up a truly revolutionary German Left Opposition, and to link it up inseparably with the fighting Russian Opposition.

Developments have shown that the Leninbund leadership did not choose the historically necessary path. It did not make an end of the old tradition of covert factional struggle with the Russian Opposition. While on the one hand, the Leninbund leaders lived off the spiritual capital of the Russian Opposition, they did not give up their opportunism, superficialities and ambiguities. They did not so much lead the organization as alternately yield concessions, now to the Ultra-lefts, now to the Centrists, and then to the Right Wing tendencies. Without a clear-cut political position on the International and German problems of the class-struggle, the Leninbund confronted the Soviet-Chinese conflict (Far Eastern Railway) without a platform. The helplessness of this leadership was well characterized by the fact that the discussion of this question was allowed to open with an article entitled "Hands Off China" by a Korschist and a non-member of the organization.

The Theoretical Misconceptions of the Leninbund

The articles of Urbahns and the position of the national committee are well known: A conception of ultra-left, social democratic and pacifist conceptions.

The repudiation of the proletarian character of the Soviet State, the theory of a "third type" state ("hybrid state") resting on an equilibrium of the class forces, has been the only "independent" pearl of wisdom contributed by the ultra-left Leninbund leaders. Such a theory spells the adoption of the Austro-Marxist appraisal of the nature of the Soviet State, general conception of the State, and rupture with the Marxian-Leninist theory.

On the basis of its fallacious analysis, the Leninbund leadership was led to adopt the idea of a second party. Denying that the Soviet power is a proletarian state, despairing of the Comintern and German Party, losing all faith in the possibilities of its proletarian rank and file, the Leninbund leaders looked for salvation in the formation of a second (dual) party. The "declaration" of the Russian Opposition (Rakovsky, Okudschawa, etc.) was interpreted by the Leninbund leadership as a step in the direction of capitulation. The conception of the role of the Opposition as a faction fighting to win the proletarian core of the Party was regarded by the Leninbund leaders as masked capitulation.

Political Bankruptcy of Urbahns

In the German questions, Urbahns has not been able to define his position up to the very present. The leadership has been working on a "program of action" behind closed doors, since the meeting of the national committee last October. Urbahns himself had to admit at the national committee (February 23) that the leadership has not been able to work out this "action program."

The only thing they did not have to learn was the Zinovievist Comintern methods. In this they appear to outdistance the master." By suppressing all proletarian thought and political discussion, by systematically diverting the attention of the membership from the big questions, the Urbahns group was able to exclude the Left Opposition at the handpicked **"Reichsansschuss"** (National Committee).

The extent of the ideological confusion in the Urbahns Group may be judged from the conclusions of the speakers at the **"Reichsansschuss"**... "The Communist Party of Germany no longer harbors any revolutionary workers" . . . . The politically unorganized are more revolutionary than the communist workers" (Deductions of the representative of a bloc with the Right Wing) . . . . "Social Fascism now rules Russia. Russia has entered upon its 18th Brumaire" . . .(Reporter from a conference in Halle). "The theory of the Comintern regarding social fascism is correct. Industrial Unionism is our salvation" . . . "Out of the old trade unions ("free trade unions"), blocs in the unions and other organizations, not only with the Rights but with the remains of the U. S. P. D. (Independent Socialists) and the S. P. D. (Social-Democratic Party)." Urbahns and others were of the latter opinion.

The Decline of the Leninbund

The result of this policy is a catastrophic defeat at the communal elections, a disastrous drop in the membership (from about 6,000 at the time the expulsion from the Party to, at the most, 400 to 500 today). The **Fahne des Kommunismus** has been stopped and the **Volksville** which was issued four times a week, is now a Weekly; lack of a platform owing to impotence, and rupture with the Russian and International Opposition. Without a platform, without a press, without a rudder or sail, the Urbahns organization is going full steam ahead to its complete collapse.

The struggle with the Right Liquidators and the criminal adventurist policies of Centrism will be conducted by the Left Communist Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninist) in Germany in closest organizatory connection and principled agreement with the International and Russian Opposition. Only the petty-bourgeois and those who are completely hopeless, can bewail this "newest" split. Freed from the harmful and irresponsible politics of the Urbahns leadership, the German Left Opposition will develop its program on the basis of a Marxist analysis of the international and German position, and will gather the proletarian cadres of the Party in the struggle against the Centrist leadership, for the reform and the conquest of the Communist International and the Party.

—ROMAN WELL

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39

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Trench Episodes A. D. 1936

A Short Story

By Bertram Chambers

ABOVE the eastern horizon the sun shines dully; a copper disc suspended in a thin grey haze. A mist that envelopes everything to a height of thirty or more feet...

An inter-city road breaks the desolation of the countryside. It glistens in the haze, its wide asphalt surface damp with a liquid other than rain or man spilled water. Every hundred feet or so its continuity is broken by shell craters; occasionally a titanic crater obliterates its entire width and some hundreds of feet of length—the unforgettable brand of a 5,000 pound "demolition" bomb.

From either side trenches rise out of the haze to meet in one of the colossal craters; the scene of a direct hit by a "demo". In the mist-filled hole, fifty feet deep, a small gang of engineers are working laboriously on a runway in an attempt to link together the severed trench. They toil slowly, painfully, like divers on an ocean bed. One straightens up, looks at his mate through the goggles of his mask and says: "Those bloody Germans knew a few things about war, but I'll bet my bloody life they never dreamed of one like this!"

His mate laughs ghoulishly in the grotesque mask that envelopes his head and face. "The jerries were muckers, but they 'ad some ideer of plying the bleedin' gime." The other shakes his head in an attempt to dislodge the sweat that is fogging his eyes. The sweat he daren't open his mask to reach. Silently they bend their backs again...

On the lip of the crater where it faces the center of the road a soldier stands, staring steadily into the fixed eyepiece of a periscope. On the top the revolving eye swings slowly back and forth, sending invisible ultra-violet rays through the gas-haze to the enemy lines. There, too, an ultra-periscope gropes with unseen rays...

A queer creature of rubber and leather; of metal and glass is this modern soldier; a fantastic statue in the coppery dawn. Not one particle of his flesh is exposed to the air. A leather uniform—treated to withstand corrosive poison gas—cloaks him from feet to head. It is air, gas and vapor tight. A mask, wierdly strange in the mist, covers his face. A strip of tough, unbreakable glass enables him to survey a ghastly world. Below the glass a flexible metal pipe runs from the mask to a flat metal box strapped to his shoulders—his oxygen-air apparatus. Strangest of all is the device that enables him to speak audibly, a stubby metal tube projecting from the mask like a pig's nose...

The necessity of his diver-like armor is made plain by the bodies beyond the crater. There, lying in grotesque, pain-distorted huddles are the men whose armor is punctured and torn. Men who gaze skyward with glaring, pain distended eyes; victims of the greyish haze and its invisible groping fingers...

* * * * *

TWO HUNDRED feet down in concrete dug-outs secretly made a year before the declaration of war, the remnants of the first contingents loll around polishing rifles; nicking the little crosses on the soft nosed bullets that converts them into dum-dums; sleeping like logs with unspeakable weariness...

A gong strikes...once...twice. The signal that the armored gas-proof doors are about to open. The soldier at the door reaches for a valve; the Sss-sss-sss of the antidotal gas fills the room. The gas that drenches the world above in a fog of death leaks in spite of all precautions in minute, but deadly quantities into the underground barracks...

A heavy door slides into a wall; a column of masked, gas-proof uniformed replacements file in. The door slides home. The air becomes slightly "close" as the antidotal gas "kills" the poison gas adhering to the uniforms of the newcomers.

An officer barks an order. The line stands easy, then begins to strip off the protective uniforms...

An old hand, veteran of the first world war, glances at the replacements. "Hell!" he exclaims disgustedly. "A bunch o' bloody kids. Why in hell don't they send us some men?"

"Can't send us wot they 'aven't got, matey," replies his buddy and lowers his haggard face to the rifle he is polishing.

The new recruits look around with boyish curiosity. Some look "tough" but the majority show sallow faces with downy hair where the older men show grizzly beards...

The officer in command looks fixedly at his new "men". Cradle babies, not one over eighteen, the majority far less he decides, and swears viciously under his breath...The cities of course are charnel houses under the incessant rains of gas bombs; these kids are the pick of the remnants left...He swears again, audibly...

* * * * *

FILING through a gas-proof door a battalion takes their places in the trench. They wait. Presently comes the signal that all stations are manned. Another wait; a stirring along the lines. Expectancy. A whistle...

They climb over the top clumsily; retarded by the all-enveloping gas-proof uniform. They disappear onto the gas-haze in a ragged line...

The surprise attack fails. A titanic monster of metal rushes out of the fog, stands clear for an instant, vanishes...The enemy has launched a surprise attack with land-battleships...The line stumbles on in quick decimation...

The speeding tanks, making their way across the broken ground at a thirty mile clip, throw terror into the line of recruits. They loom out of the gas-haze with devastating suddenness; their ultra-modern machine guns — cooled by liquid air — spitting a solid wall of lead at a speed of 5,000 rounds per minute...

A recruit falters stands stock still in the slowing, vanishing line, then turns and runs, boy-courage gone. He passes an officer who, in one awful moment, sees his distended eyes in his ghost white face; hears him scream "Mother! Mother!" and stumbles on. The officer brings his gun up, mouthing: "God, Oh God!" The boy lurches horribly as the heavy service bullet drills through his back. He sags face down into the ground. "Mother." The word spews from his mouth in a torrent of blood.

The officer turns and runs forward to meet the tanks. Must not let them retreat...Advance...Advance ...His mind is a riot, his guts a sickening cauldron... A tank looms up. He fires furtively at the metal belly as a yard-wide tread grinds him, a pulp of flesh and blood and bone, into the ground...

A recruit staggers, turns half-around. His face vanishes as a tank gunner gives him a burst at point blank range. He stands upright, swaying slightly, then goes down under the churning treads.

Another stands still in sudden dizziness; his uniform is punctured. The sweetish taste of an acid gas is on his lips. Terror stricken he gropes with his fingers for the break. The dizziness increases...he falls, twisting convulsively to the ground...As the taste on his lips communicates to his tongue, he rolls slowly around in a last desperate attempt to discover the infinitesimal, deadly break. His tongue begins to swell in his mouth; his eyes to stare glassily as his convulsive movements slow up under stiffening muscles...And now his eyes are the swollen eyes of the prawn-fish, pain distorted... His clawing hands cease to obey the confusion of thoughts that swamp his searing brain...And now his tongue is no longer an organ of his body...It is a stick of wood, swelling to the full limits of his mouth...It spills over his teeth; juts out between his distorted lips, dripping saliva...It commences to go down his throat ...rigid, like a piece of wood...A piece of wood...

In the gas-haze the huge tanks grind into the ground the dead and the living...

"Services No Longer Required"

The Roman slave holder had his "labor troubles". The slave uprising led by Spartacus in 70 A. D. proves that. The Southern U. S. plantation owner, master over many negro chattels, many centuries later had "labor troubles" also. The Fugitive Slave Act bears proof of this. The medieval baron, lord over many serfs, also had his "labor troubles". Wat Tyler's Rebellion, the Peasant Wars in Germany, testify how bloody these "labor troubles' became. Today a pick up of any capitalist newspaper will show the modern capitalist and his "labor troubles".

There is one essential difference between the labor troubles of chattel slavery, of feudalism and wage slavery or capitalism. Today the slave struggles for a chance to work, for employment. Then the slave would revolt to flee from employment. Today, police are called to club unemployed into starving idleness; then soldiers were called to keep the slaves at work. Then, stringent laws providing for terrible punishments like crucifixion, hanging, quartering, mutilating and flogging were meted out to any slave or serf fleeing his work. Now terrible punishments like jail terms and police beatings are handed out to any worker having the audacity to demand work.

In a few words, and this illustrates the superiority of the capitalist mode of production—for the master class—over any other: formerly the master sought the slave, now the slave seeks the master. He stands in line, he spits in his own face by offering to work for less food than his fellow worker; occasionally now he demonstrates and then the papers scream. Once in a great while he revolts—all for a chance to slave.

"Services No Longer Required"

Essentially there are two sorts of unemployment, the unemployment of the blue bloods, the parasites, who while unemployed waste millions in degenerate orgies. For this class of leeches useful employment is a terrible nightmare. Then there is the unemployment of the wage slave—a terrible nightmare that haunts the mind of the worker. As he sees the job-line lengthen, however worn out and sped up he may be, he will manage an extra burst of energy so that he may not be the next one told that his "services are no longer required".

There are many millions of this type whose "services are no longer required". He goes from shop to shop offering his labor power, but the market is glutted with this material. As he walks he begins to think, a dangerous sign for the capitalists. Perchance a "Red", an "agitator", may give him some literature and he discovers:

Capitalism uses a new and much more efficient method than the cat-o'-nine-tails to make the workers slave. That is hunger. We are told that we are free and the bosses are free. He is free to offer us terms of any kind—we are free to starve unless we accept these terms.

As we work, we create profits, such huge profits that even in their wildest extravagances the bosses cannot spend them. So there proves to be no more market for that commodity we are hired to produce; no more profits can be gotten so the free boss lays off the free worker to freely starve in the midst of a land of full warehouses which the worker filled.

Over-Production—Yet Poverty for Masses

The workers starve because they have grown too much, they wear rags because they wove too much; they live in hovels because they erected too many homes; they freeze because they have mined too much coal. This is the paradox of capitalism.

Capitalism, greedily demanding more and more profits, puts faster machines into the shops which produce goods and profits at a faster and faster rate. More workers are thrown on the streets.

What of the worker thrown out of work?

Some of our suave, moral uplifters may take a look at this: during periods of unemployment, there is an increase of prostitution, murders and suicides. Our clergymen of every denomination rail at the morals of the people and point at the mounting crime wave, but of course do not dare to examine the economic cause or the capitalist system.

During periods of unemployment, disease and death rate increase. Among workers these are always high, but during hard times they rise to terrible levels. Fed on adulterated foods, shoddy clothed, poorly housed, the workers become more vulnerable than ever to disease.

Child labor increases as children are forced to leave school and provide for the family. While old workers leave the factory at one door, their own children enter at another—at lower wages. We have the case at present of unemployment generally and child labor specifically mounting at the same time.

During periods of unemployment the wages of those at work are slashed by the boss. The answer to any resistance is: "there are plenty outside who want your job."

These are but a few of the effects of unemployment upon the workers. Every worker must ask himself: What is to blame?

Communists Have Unemployment Solution

The skilled worker says: the machine; the adult: the youth; men: women; white: the Negro; the native: the foreigner; the deluded Republican workers says its the Democratic administration; the Democratic worker says its the Republican administration.

None of these are true. The youth, the women, the Negro, the foreigner, the Republican and Democrat all suffer from unemployment. While one group blames another, the boss has a hearty laugh as he sees the divided and thereby powerless workers quarreling among themselves.

The socialists have no cure for unemployment as socialist governments have proven in Europe: witness England, Germany, etc.

Only by overthrowing the system of capitalism will unemployment be done away with. The society of Communism alone can eliminate the terror of unemployment. Capitalism will be replaced by employment and plenty for all. To help bring this about all workers should join the Communist League of America (Opposition) and help fight for the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of Communism. —C. CURTISS

Φ

MISERY WAGES FOR S.C. BAG WORKERS

CHARLESTON, S. C.—Ten hours a day in a dust-filled factory nets $4 to $5 a week for 400 to 500 negroes at the Charleston Bagging Co. Most of them are children. When they leave the factory at night, their hair, eyelashes, and faces are covered with the brown dust of the mill.

Φ

WASHINGTON—Man-hour productivity in all important manufacturing industries showed notable increases from 1914 to 1927, ranging from 24% to 82% for 9 industries. For the auto industry the increase was 178%, and for the rubber tire industry it was 292%, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In the Opposition Ranks

International Left Forms Provisional Bureau

For some time now the press of the Left Opposition has discussed next steps for the unification of the International Opposition of the Left. The **Militant** on various occasions has presented this question and has put forward a number of concrete proposals for discussion. Now preliminary steps have been taken which have resulted in the formation of a Provisional **International Secretariat** which, as an initial act, is to issue an International Bulletin.

The Communist League of America (Opposition) is in full agreement with the steps thus far taken at Paris, France, on the initiative of representatives of the Left Opposition of the United States, the Russian Opposition (Bolshevik-Leninists), and the French Opposition. Comrade Max Shachtman, member of the National Committee of the Communist League, represented the American League at the preliminary conference and together with comrade Markin of the Russian Opposition and of the Russian **Bulletin of the Opposition** and Alfred Rosmer, representing the French Opposition and editor of the French weekly organ. **La Verite,** signed for the Provisional Secretariat.

The first circular of the Provisional Secretariat is printed below and outlines the steps taken to date and the ones proposed for the immediate future.

* * *

March 10, 1930

Circular No. 1.

To the National Committee of the Communist League of America (Opposition)

Dear Comrades:

In **La Verite** of Febrauray 21 and March 7, we raised the question of the organization of an International Information Bureau of the Left Opposition, which would edit an Information Bulletin, with the aim of preparing the Convocation of an International Conference at, which all Left Opposition Groups would be represented. The Conference would lead to the unification of the Opposition.

The question of the unification of the Left Communist Opposition has become a very vital question at the present moment. Nevertheless its realization is rendered very difficult by important obstacles. The three principal kinds of obstacles against which we stumble, as the Opposition already has in the past, are:

1. The Opposition Groups of the different countries developed independently of one another, almost without contact. They know each other very little and resolve problems of international importance without concerning themselves about each other.

2. In a number of countries there are several groups which claim to be of the Left Oppositon and combat each other.

3. In the U. S. S. R., the Opposition lives in illegality which involves very considerable practical obstacles, which transform themselves into political difficulties.

All these obstacles can only be surmounted by a lively democratic preparation of the International Conference. For this reason only, we have taken on ourselves the initiative in publishing, under the control of an International Secretariat, an Information Bulletin, where all the questions that interest the Opposition will be raised.

In consequence we ask you, expecting a reply in the briefest possible time, to express an opinion on the following questions:

1. What appears to you to be the best way of going about to realize an international union of the Left Communist Organizations?

2. What are the principle problems which you consider necessary to discuss toward the end of working out a single platform of the Opposition? Send all your theses, documents, resolutions, which you decide to place on the agenda of discussion for the International Opposition, without delay, their text in your own language.

3. To send to the Provisional Secretariat regularly, all the publications of your organization: papers, reviews, pamphlets, leaflets, notices, etc(two copies).

4. To indicate to what extent your group can help finance the necessary expenditures of the publication of the Bulletin.

5. The approximate circulation of the Bulletin in your country.

It is understood that the role of the International Secretariat to issue the publication of the Bulletin would be purely technical. It would have charge of the control of the Bulletin and the convening of the conference, as soon as possible after reaching an understanding with the various organizations. It only has the right of initiative, but no power to define the questions to be debated.

We ask you to follow attentively all the news and information concerning the Bulletin appearing in **La Verite.**

We ask for an immediate reply owing to urgency of these plans. Make suggestions, etc.

With Fraternal Greetings

Provisional International Secretariat

(Signed)

Shachtman (Communist League of America) (Opposition)

Markin (Russian Communist Opposition-Bolshevik-Leninists.)

Rosmer (Left Ccmmunist Opposition of France)

Φ

Northern China Organizes Opposition

In the previous number of the **Militant** we were able to report the development of the Left Opposition in South Africa. Now we have just received word of the formation of another body of the Opposition in North China, with their centre at Peiping. The Chinese comrades publish their paper, **The Proletarian,** at Shanghai, and now their ranks are augmented by the Oppositionists of the North.

We send fraternal greetings to the growing Chinese Opposition. History gives to the Chinese Opposition the task of revitalizing the Chinese revolutionary movement, of leading the Chinese workers and peasants to victory over the international imperialists and the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Opportunism within the ranks of Communism has decimated the ranks of the Chinese Communists and workers, and therefore they will remember the words of Leon Trotsky that "the cruel massacre of the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese revolution at its three most important turning-points, the strengthening of the trade union agents of British imperialism after the General Strike of 1926, and the general weakening of the position of the Communist International and the Soviet union, the Party owes principally and above all to comrade Stalin." The Chinese Opposition will know through their experiences and knowledge how to deal with the cancer of opportunism.

* * *

Peiping, China
February 12, 1930

The Militant

Dear Comrades

We, the Oppositionist Group of North China, who stand on the same battle-field with you, here present our warmest revolutionary salutations to the Communist League of the United States of America.

We are happy to hear of the **Militant** We believe that your paper is setting forth the important truth about the opportunism of the Stalinists throughout the world. The **Militant** spreads the message from which the proletariat of the whole world will trace the correct path of Leninism and will finally turn from the path of opportunism. It is the compass to guide the Opposition in the struggle against our enemy, the opportunists.

We sincerely hope that all issues of the **Militant** will reach us in good order; for it is our reference in revolutionary theory which we need so much. We expect you will do your best to help us theoretically. We will report to you about the political and economic changes of China from time to time.

With warmest Communist Greetings

(Signed) The North China Executive Committee of Chinese Leninists (Opposition)

Φ

CHARLESTON, S. C.—Machines installed in a Charleston cigar factory have caused many colored women workers to lose their $4.33 a week jobs.

THE PERIOD OF THE RIGHT-CENTRISTS

(Continued from Page 4)

mixed with scholasticism at that. What sort of significance did the "stabilization" have, in its application to English economy and politics, especially in the year 1926-27? Development of the productive forces? Improvement of the economic situation? Better outlook on the future? Relative satisfying and pacifying of the working masses? Not in the least. The whole socalled stabilization of English capitalism held out only with the aid of the conservative power of the old labor organizations with all their currents and shadings, with the simultaneous weaknesses and irresoluteness of the English Communist Party.

On the field of the economic and social relations of England, the revolution is already fully matured. The question now stands politically. The cornerpillars of the stabilization are formed by the heads of the the Labor Party and the trade unions, which, in England, present a united whole, though with a division of labor. Under such a condition of the working masses, which became obvious through the General Strike, the highest rank in the mechanics of the capitalist stabilization is no longer occupied by MacDonald and Thomas, but already by Purcell, Cook and Company. They start things off and Thomas carries them to the end. Without Purcell, Thomas would hang in the air and along with Thomas also Baldwin. It is the false, diplomatic masquerade—"Leftism" of Purcell, which sometimes in rotation, sometimes simultaneously, fraternizes with sextons and Bolsheviks, and is always ready not only for retreats but also for betrayal, that forms the principal brake of the English revolution. Stabilization is Purcellism. From that we see what theoretical absurdity and blind opportunism is the reference to the existence of "stabilization" as an apology for the political bloc with Purcell. Yes, just in order to shatter the stabilization. Purcelldom has to be destroyed, before all. In such a situation, even a shadow of solidarity with the General Council is the greatest crime and a mark of infamy against the working masses.

Even the most correct strategy cannot, by itself, always lead to the victory. The correctness of a strategical idea is judged by whether it fulfills the real development of class forces and estimates the elements of those forces realistically. The most disgraceful defeat, which has the most grievious consequences for the movement, is such a typical Menshevist defeat that is based upon a false estimation of classes, an underestimation of the revolutionary factors and upon an idealizing of the enemy forces. Of such a type were our defeats in China and in England.

The Rotten Strategy of Right-Centrism

What was expected from the Anglo-Russian Committee for the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics?

In July, 1926, Stalin enlightened us at the joint plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission as follows:

> "The task of this bloc (the A.-R. C.) consists of the organization of a broad movement of the working class against new imperialist war in general and against an intervention in our land, especially on the part of England, the mightiest of the imperialist states of Europe."

While he was enlightening us Oppositionists so much that "the defense of the first workers' republic of the world against intervention must be taken care of", since we did not know that yet, Stalin added:

> "If the reactionary trade unions of England are ready to conclude a bloc with the revolutionary trade unions of our country against the counter-revolutionary imperialists of their country, why should we not greet such a bloc?"

Were the "reactionary trade unions" capable of conducting a struggle against their imperialists, they would not be reactionary. Stalin lost the distinction between the conceptions reactionary and revolutionary. He characterizes the English trade unions as reactionary from old memory, but entertains in reality miserable illusions with regard to their revolutionaryism.

After Stalin, the Moscow Committee also declared to the workers of Moscow:

> "The Anglo-Russian Committee can and will undoubtedly play an enormous role in the struggle against all possible interventions directed against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. It will become the organizatory center that embraces the international forces of the proletariat for the struggle against every endeavor of the international bourgeoisie to begin a new war." (Theses of the Moscow Committee.)

What did the Opposition reply?

> "The sharper the international situation will come to a head, the more the Anglo-Russian Committee will be transformed into a weapon of English and international imperialism."

This criticism of the Stalinist hopes in Purcell as the guardian angel of the workers' state was later characterized by Stalin at the same plenum as a deviation "from Leninism to Trotskyism".

Voroschilov: "Very true."

A Voice: "Voroschilov has affixed his seal to it."

Trotsky: "Fortunately that will all be in the stenogram."

Yes, indeed, all that is included in the stenogram of the July Plenum, at which the rude and disloyal opportunists dared to accuse the Opposition of "defeatism".

This dialogue, which I had to quote here briefly from my earlier article **"What Did We Expect and What Did We Get?",** as a strategical lesson is far more useful than a whole seminarist chapter on the strategy in the draft program. The question: What did we expect and what did we get? forms one of the principal strategical criterions in general. It must be applied at the Sixth Congress to all questions that have stood on the order of the day in recent years. It will then be shown unfailingly that the strategy of the Central Committee of the Communist International, especially since the year 1926, was a strategy of unreal dimensions, false calculations, illusions with regard to the enemy and incitement against especially reliable and persevering cofighters. In a word, it was a rotten srategy of Right-Centrism.

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